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cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans [6] or the Sienpi.

The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

## PASTORAL ECONOMY

Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Aschendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

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231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[6a]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[6a] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

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231 463 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 648 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 251 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

## HUNTING AND FISHING

224 136 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

[p 113a]

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
441 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to

231 prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
441 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

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## FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

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/44 cont'd/

585 262 264 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and [527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 261 [252] It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 264 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for 585 262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large 585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents 431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts 231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably [262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

M /46 cont'd/
231 pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M 585 431 583 We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding. They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585 1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/55 cont'd/

Mo 585 231 492 The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

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585 431 231 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations. In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push [604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

/77 cont'd/

585 231 431 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race become apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice [571 578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploitation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 614 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 578 571 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage, and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, [792] or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen- [791] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth- sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every- [357] thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in- [784] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of
[791] the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[792] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani- pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beńkań (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[24]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

[231] [776]

*778 [792] [791] [178] The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]

[782] concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual [621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other [231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured [791] over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present. [252] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal, [574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in- [791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire [621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[67 cont.]
*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).
776

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

[231]

539 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser
*778 xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergān:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergān sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
782 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
783 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
782 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
787 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 782 231 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 782 252 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 782 791 787 [776] Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indicates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit, and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

241 782 231

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.] The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782

In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seed-master or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

## XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

### SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

[p. 118(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

## CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70-76; **9**: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Koko-nor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

## BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71]

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17 : 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

from my late father Jen Tsung, whose tablet is honored in the ancestral temple on the place Chao and whose succession I received, an imperial order relating to the affair of the brigands of An Ting and other places who had plundered and killed the imperial ambassadors, to lead your troops to exterminate them, to bring peace in that country, and put an end to the miseries of the people. You have capably complied with the order of the emperor. Acting with zeal and courage, you led your strong troops into the den of the brigands, killing and capturing more than 1,000 men and capturing booty of 130,000 camels, horses, cows, and sheep, suppressing even the vestiges of the brigands, rendering peace to the people, so that the communications (with central Asia) might start again and no more troubles occur (on the highway). I praise your faithfulness and zeal. When I ascended the throne I appointed generals to keep peace in the frontier regions. If all of them will expend their forces in that way, peace can easily be enjoyed and great success achieved. Who among the generals of former times are equal to you?

Now by special favor I send Yang Yun, chief of the ministry of civil appointments, to congratulate you.

The captives, camels, and horses have to be sent to the capital, cows and sheep have to be distributed among the officers and troops who participated in the expedition. You will soon come to court, the expenses defrayed by the empire, in order to comply with my sentiments.

On the eleventh moon he obeyed and went to the capital. He received silver, flowered silk, precious trinkets, and paper money.

1426. On the eleventh of the first moon the imperial order arrived at the quarters of the commandant of Chuang Lang, to choose 260 officers and soldiers who formerly served in the cavalry and put them under the command of high secretary Commandant Lu Hsien to receive training in the defense of the frontiers. They may expect to be transferred soon. Obey and act according to the order.

1427. The chief of the Tibetan Erh-chia tribe revolted but the revolt was quelled by Lu Hsien.

On the twentieth of the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

We informed the Prince of An Ting, I p'an tan, of the An Ting commandery, the secretary commandant Ah la ch'i pa and others, concerning the mission of the eunuch Hu Hsien and others to Wu-sse-tsang. Order your 3,000 officers and soldiers to protect the ambassadors, under command of high secretary-commandant Lu Hsien and the chiliarch Li Pao-tung. They have to wait for the ambassadors on Sse ha erh ma yang. They have to encounter the ambassadors in a group. Do not disobey the order or commit errors. It is the aim of the order.

1428. The ambassadors, protected on the way, arrived at Ao Chieh Ch'uan. The Lama Cheng nan ho pa of the Erh-chia tribe had moved far away. Lu Hsien treated his troops well on the way.

The imperial order of the twentieth of the eleventh moon informed the high commandant Lu Hsien and the quarters of the commandery of Chuang Lang, to call immediately the troops which have received training.

Each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse, provisions will be delivered at the passes. Lu Hsien will

N 563 194 [795] [596] [241] [438] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle S owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is [592] the patriarchal family.

S The Shera Yögur:

[233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [792] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, [422] for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

M 233 241 198 [177] Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the

N 563 M 231 [554] Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [42] ively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered M [343] at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at M [231] night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort M [354] [352] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [182] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] M [252] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

M [194] The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 475 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

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on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

N *563 M 24 233 433 5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society